THE INDIANA STATE SENTINEL

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INDIANAPOLIS, IND., MONDAY, NOV. 16, 1863.

For the State Sentinel.

I was happy once! My stream of life ren Smoothly on, and as its limoid ripples Danced along, meek-eyed Hope, with brow so fair, Threw flowers upon its waves. Contentment, like A gentle spirit, stood upon its banks And beckoned ever on to walks serene. My heart had long been husbed to discords that The noisy world once rung upon my cars; Ambition I had flung away, and longed Alone for quietude. I had tasted fame, And knew its voice was hollow as the tomb. For me the arch of glory spanned a hill Whose top was bald and sere, and from whose base The sunbeams had forever been dispelled. My harp, whose notes had once been praised, was laid Aside, and had been tuneless long.

Thee then, and thou didst flash upon my path
Like a joy new-born. From that hour my life
Had changed. New hopes, that seemed to come direct
From Paradise, sprung up in my heart and smiled
With angel lips upon a future bright
With joy. Thyself grew all the world to me,
Thy timid glance a more than heaven; thy voice
A music sweeter than a serant's hymn. A music sweeter than a scraph's hymn. The highest joy I knew was in thy smile, The greatest biles, thy kind regard.

How changed again! Thou hast no smile upon.
Thy lip to greet me now; no kindly glance Of even recognition; no friendly voice
To speak a word of even common courtesy;
Thy heart, it seems, is adamant, or ice.
And I would seek to know the mystery Of the change! Oft have I essayed to win Thee back to what thou wast, that I might learn The reason of this strangeness. But months have Passed, and find thee still the same impassive, Cold and peerless thing, and me in—wretchedness! No more for me can'st shine another star Of love. The one that thou did'st light has set Upon an orbiess night, and left no ray Along its track to gild the deepening gloom.

And my stricken heart is sad. Thou hast turned Its sunniest chambers to a funeral urn, Where lies the dust of all the hopes that once Made life a joy, and existence poetry.
And sorrow comes, and like a weeping mother
O'er her buried child, she leans upon that urn,
And in the ashes gathered there she sheds Her holiest, bitterest and most scalding tears. Oh! if thou did'st but know the mighty love Thou hast inspired—the strong, the deep, the pure Devotion of this heart of mine, 'twould melt The kcy rim that girds thine own until Twould yield some gentle drops of pitying rain

But then I know 'tis vain. I dare not hope That thou wilt ever bend. Thy pride is strong, And well might raise a being to the skies, Or drag an angel down.

Then farewell thou! And farewell, too, my broken naro! Thou might'et Have waked itschords to a more gentle strain; To tones, perchance, as sweet and musical As those, in dreams, we sometimes think are heard From angels' lutes in Paradise. But thou Hast struck it rudely, and its strings are snapped; Its notes are discord, and its song despair. Then henceforth let it be forever mute, As mute as thine own lips, and let it be The arm that sweeps it now is numbed with death; And then, maybap, some angel hand will take It up to be re-strong in that bright realm where all Is peace and love.

But I must love the still! O'er that, at least, thou canst not have control The heart where thou dost sit enthroned is strong, And will not yield thee up. Thy scorn, thy hate May chill, but never can destroy the love That thou hast planted in a bleeding breast.

The "War Democracy." The New Albany Ledger, in noticing a call for a " meeting of the delegates of the War vative men, and such only, should lead our forces Democracy of the north-west" at Chicago, on in the next conflict. the 25th inst. remarks:

"It is rich-peculiarly so. It speaks of the ces before you elect to do so. million of Democrats who have recently voted the Democratic ticket in the various States as " seceders from the party," while the little handful of bolters who voted the Republican ticket

are characterized as the genuine Democratic favor of the 23d has been received. I have departy. Cass, Seymour, and Dallas are no longer layed answering it, that I might fully consider Democrats, while Sumner, Butler, Chase, and the matters of which you speak. I have thought Greeley are the very paragons of Democracy." long and earnestly on the subject of the next can-This so called "War Democratic party" is one vass in this State, and have tried to think that I of the humbugs of the day. In what respect for Governor, if offered to me; but have not been does it differ from the Republican, Abolition, or able to obtain my consent to do so. If we had "Union" party, by which ever name the party in | been defeated in the State in the late elections,

power may be distinguished? The "War De- might not have felt at liberty to decline any pomocracy" endorse all the acts of the Administration, and it is a portion of their creed to de- diana is thoroughly and decidedly Democratic, nounce as "traitors to the Government" all who and furnishes the assurance that we may rely doubt the infallibility of Mr. Lincoln, or ques- with certainty on carrying the State in 1864, I tion even the wirdom or policy of any of the notion and interests by declining the race. measures of the party in power. Certainly a In my judgment, the welfare of the country is high protective tariff and a national banking bound up in the success of the Democratic party system with a currency not convertible into gold in the contest of 1864, and I am willing to labor with all my strength, to aid in achieving its sucat the will of the holder, are not Democratic cess. But I want no office If the Convention measures, vet these "War Democrats" in their chooses to place my name on the Electoral ticcall for another Chicago convention say that the ket, I will accept the place, and devote my entire "War Democracy of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, shall still, as a private, do my duty to my coun-Missouri and other Northwestern States, having, try and my party. seperately, proclaimed their devotion to the true | While I most sincerely thank my friends for and time honored principles of the Democratic party as propounded by Jarranson, illustrated by must be permitted most positively to decline the JACKSON, and practically carried out by the faith- use of my name in that connection. If this de ful statesmen and heroes of that party of the termination shall disappoint them, I will regret present time" assume to be the Democratic party. In what way have they manifested that devotion ary disappointment they may feel, and that they to the time-honored principles of the Democratic | will do me the justice to believe me when I asparty? Was it by voting, as they did, in all the sure them that no light considerations have in-State elections which have taken place this fall for the candidates of the Abolition party, thereby endorsing the measures of the party in power which are in direct antagonism to the timehonored principles of the Democracy as propounded by JEFFERSON and illustrated by JACK-

will throw their principles to the dogs, but never a bone.

electoral vote, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for President and Vice President, and should elect such by exclusive suffrage to rule over us at the North? Do you Don't Violate the Constitution. Necessity is the plea of tyrants, and if our Southern brethern are less sensitive on this sub-Constitution ceases to operate the moment a person charged with its observance thinks there [Tremendo is a necessity to violate it, it is of little use . . . We are fighting to maintain the Constitution, and it especially becomes us in appealing to the people to come to its rescue, not to forelathers, cemented by their blood, and be-

ator. In sentiment and language it corresponds with the expressions of the Father of the Republie. But what avails this appeal to the people, or any other, to maintain the Constitution, when the representatives of the government treat that instrument as a dead letter, and the party in I should be guilty of such duplicity." power class all sho will not approve all their acts The present indebtedness of the State as "traitors" to the government?

rebels, if both alike set at paught the Constitu-

Declination of Hon. Joseph E. Mc-Donald.

It appears from the following correspondence, which we copy from the Vincennes Sun, that the Hon. JOSEPH E. McDonald refuses to allow his name to be used in connection with the candidacy for Governor at the ensuing election. We most sincerely hope that he may be induced to reconsider this determination, for there is no man in the State who would be more acceptable to the Democracy of Indiana as their standard bearer in the important canvass of 1864. Although Mr. McDonald does not desire the office of Governor. he is willing not only, but anxious to devote his time and services to the triumph of the cause, upon the success of which there can be no doubt the future welfare of the country and the perpe tuity of our free institutions depend. We commend the comments of our cotemporary, in this connection, to the consideration of the Democracy of Indiana:

It will be seen by the correspondence which follows that Hon. Joseph E. McDonald has peremptorily declined the use of his name as a candidate for Governor before the approaching Dem-ocratic State Convention. This information will be received with regret in all parts of the State, as it was almost unanimously conceded that this gallant, unflinching and able champion of constitutional principles was to be our standard bearer in the important canvass of next year. It will be observed, however, from his excellent and characteristic letter, that while Mr. McD. finds it incumbent to decline the use of his name for the Gubernatorial chair, he is as ever ready and anxious to do battle for the principles of our fathers in whatever position that may be assigned him. This is just what was to be expected from his glorious and enviable record in

The determination of Mr. McDonald de volves upon the Convention a delicate, important and responsible duty-to select from our many worthy and deserv ing men a candidate who combines in a high degree (as he does) the elements so essential and vital to success in the present crisis-one who combines moderation, wisdom, firmness, and discretion with the ability necessary to a successful and triumphant issue of the canvass, and who will discharge the duties of the office to which he will undoubtedly be elected with credit to his State, his country, and his party. We have in our ranks hundreds of such leaders, and we are confident the honor will be worthily bestowed: The following is the correspondence alluded

VINCENNES, IND . Oct. 28th. 1863. HON. JOSEPH E. McDonald-Dear Sir: 1 write you to say that I have heard with regret to-day that you are indulging the thought of peremptorily declining the race for the guberna-

Such a course would be very unsatisfactory to your many friends in the southern portion of the State. We admit that pecuniarily considered a great sacrifice on your part would result, but hope that your financial condition is such as to enable you to stand the misfortune of an election. Our people have learned that extreme men are not favorites with the masses. Conser-

Your withdrawai would derange all our plans; and I trust you will look well to the consequen Your friend.

INDIANAPOLIS, October 31, 1863. WILLIAM F. PIDGEON, ESQ.—DEAR SIR: Your feel that I may properly consult both my incli

strength to the work. If not in that position, I

desiring to place me in nomination for the high est office in the gitt of the people of the State, I it; but shall hope that the choice of the Convention will be such as to do away with any moment duced me to the course I have taken.

J. E. McDONALD. Mr. Fillmore on the Abolition Party. In 1859, on the return of ex-President FILL-MORE from Europe, he made a speech at Albany, which it may not be uninteresting to recur to at son? There is not a particle of difference between this time. No man had better opportunity of the "War Democracy" and the Administration knowing the state of feeling which had existed in party. They make no issue with the party in the country, or who had personally come in conpower. They dare not condemn even the glaring tact with a larger number of the leading men abuses and infamous corruptions which have from all parts of the States. Mr. FILLMORE'S characterized the administration of the Govern- language was indeed prophetic. JEFFERSON, ment since March 4th, 1861, and that have had CLAY, and WEBSTER, and nearly all the leaders no parallel in the history of the nation. They of the Democratic party foresaw and foretold the dare not even allude to those violations of the results of sectional agitation; but they and their Constitution by the Administration which Jer- warnings were scoffed at as weak inventions and FERSON and Jackson proclaimed, if tolerated by mere party tricks. There can at least be no the people, would result in the overthrow of civil harm in listening to the warnings of those to liberty and the destruction of republican govern- whose wisdom we are indebted, and we should ment. Yet these men, who have been aiding and also take warning of those whose course has abetting the party that sustains the Administra- brought us so near to ruin-those who scoffed tion in disregarding the Constitution and in at and ridiculed our sages—those who have done

striking down all the distinctive and time-hon-ored principles of the Democratic party in the at the cost of liberty. Mr. Fillmore said: administration of the Government, propose "to "We see a political party presenting candiextricate the faith, benor and organization of the dates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency party from the hands of unworthy demagogues"! selected, for the first time, from the free States
Was there ever more brazen effrontery exhibited alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these than this? These "War Democrats" have not a Union only, to rule over the whole United States. particle of sympathy with the time-honored prin- Can it be possible that those who are engaged in ciples of the Democratic party. The sole object such a measure can have seriously reflected upon of the leaders in the movement is to keep up a show of an organization to force a division of the madness or folly to believe that our Southern spoils of power from the Republicans. That is brethren would submit to be governed by such a what they are fishing for. They are political a Chief Magistrate? [Cheers.] guerrillas. It is the booty they are after. They Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral vote, should declare that they would think we would submit to it? Not for a moment.

ject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? Tremendous cheere.]
"If you do, let me tell you that you are mis taken. And, therefore, you must see that if this sectional party succeeds it inevitably leads to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our

violate it ourselves How are we better than the queathed to us as a priceless inheritance.

"I tell you, my friends, that I feel deeply, and tion?

This plea for the observance of the Constitution danger. I am determined to make a clean breast of it. I will wash my hands of the couse

Georgia is \$14,149,410

Troubled Condition of the Country.

THE POLICY OF THE HOUR.

Letter from Judge Perkins, Discussing the Issues of the Day.

THE UNION MUST BE PRESERVED.

Indianarolis, Nov. 2, 1863.

your consent or willingness to accept a renomi-Very respectfully, J. E McDonald. JAMES S. ATHON, W. H. TALBOTT,

INDIANAPOLIS, Nov. 9, 1863. the 2d inst , in which your are pleased to refer to litself to dust and ashes."

JAS. B. RYAN,

J RISTINE.

sitions in that department of the Government | majority, refused to sustain Mr. Poindexter, of present few attractions to an independent mind; Mississippi, and decided that Mr. Quincy's treaand are, perhaps, still less inviting to ambition sonable remarks "were in order," and he prowhen viewed in contrast with the "pomp and ceeded in his speech, to enforce them thus: "I circumstance," and power and profit of execu- will add only a few words in relation to the moral

personal observation, to be sure, but by in of the Union; and gentlemen express great sensi-formation from others, to suppose the diversity of bility at the expression. But the true source of public sentiment so great, touching the course terror is not in the declaration I have made, which duty calls upon the citizen to pursue, but in the deed you propose. Is there a moral to adopt your language, "the troubled condition principle of public law better settled, or more own mind whether my views upon this point than that the violation of a contract by one of would be acceptable to any considerable portion the parties may be considered as exempting the of the community. Influenced by such consider- other from its obligations?" 4 Bent. Deb., p. ations as these, I had, some two months or more | 326, et seq. ago, signified to friends that it was my desire not Returning, now, from the digression, I proceed to be a candidate, at the coming election, for any

And what I have said explains why I wished to make this communication-something more than a simple announcement of consent or re fusal to be a candidate. I wished to submit in it, briefly, to you, and through you to the public. the opinions I entertain touching the policy of the hour, and the reasons for them. I am, then, gentlemen, as I have been, most

earnestly opposed to Mr Lincoln's civil administration, believing it to be controlled by the radical Republicans; but I am for continuing to give a fair and efficient support to the vigorous prosecution of the war, as prosecuted; and to that end. I am for aiding the Government, by all reasons ble and proper means, in raising the necessary volunteer soldiers, and in providing the funds re quired to promptly and liberally pay them-more liberally than the private soldiers are now paid. I do this because I wish to save what can be saved of the Union, and believe that the war is the only instrumentality of which we are now permitted to avail been a Union man THE PRESERVATION OF OUR efforts of my manhood days were all guided by the same principle, and directed to the same end, and I hope it may form a part of the burden of my last prayer. I do not know what that prayer will be, if it is not that God will preserve our Union and save my own soul. And I beg to be permitted to add here, though it may be esteemed, by some, in bad taste, may be thought to be arrogant, but I hope not for I feel it and must vet in humilte. upon my heart, and, with the approval of my world. "Resolved, further, That the aforesaid John Quinc conscience, declare that I am guiltless of any Adams, for this insult, the first of the kind ever our existing national calamities. I have never, mitted to be aimed, through his instrumentality, at the as have radical Republicans, taught that a portion The Union as it was, was a compound thing. It was a compound of, at least, three elements, or

1. A General Government created by and acting a under constitution, with a territory extend. South. The South determined to secede if guaring from the Lakes to the Gulf.

ting white people, descendants of the previous rebellion, as all agree, was confined to a body of owners of the soil through successive generations | leaders, a faction of the South, who had got posbe changed, perhaps will perish, but I have hopes the people were still for the old Union and prethat even by war alone, we may preserve the pared to carry the elections for it, and thus re General Government, with its territorial jurisdic. same their political connection with, and old tion unrestricted, with an organization and powers, under the Constitution, if possible, if not, then, as a de facto, revolutionary government, accomplish this, and end the war in less than a outside of it, maintaining order and receiving for year was, that the Government at Washington a time, at least, unanimous allegiance.

may maintain the unity of its general organiza- war as to assure those Union men that the rights tion, its membership and property, by toleration; of the South, as formerly enjoyed, were not to be or, rejecting toleration, it may crucify or banish curtailed. This policy, it was necessity, of its differing, heretic members, and preserve the unity of its general organization and property; and for a considerable time, because confidence property as was the case with the Methodist in the then condition of the country, for a knowlreh of the United States WAR THE ONLY MEANS LEFT US TO SAVE THE UNION.

I have said that I believed the war, as now prosecuted, the only instrumentality left us with which to attempt the salvation of any distinct part, in its integrity, of the Union.

I think, a brief statement will satisfy any rea-

sonable man of the truth of this propositi When it was known that Mr. Lincoln was elected, the South asked guarantees for her con-stitutional rights. These guarantees were refused. That refusal was an erroneous, a fatal step; had it not been taken, the subsequent tragedy of "all our woes" would not have been enacted. When that step was taken, the radical Republicans were desirous of civil war, and meditated it. This is proved by the letter of Senator Chandler, written at Washington City, to Gov. Blair of Michigan, on the 11th of February, 1861, two months before Sumter was fired on, beseeching his aid in preventing a peaceable settlement, because "blood-letting." in other words, civil war, was desirable. Chandler spoke for the radicals, and they carried the point. Thus was laid aside the instrumentality of compromise as a means of sacing the Union; and thereupon the South, claiming that her rights under the Constitution had before been violated, and were further threatened, began to act upon the theory, taught at an early period in the history of the Union, by the Federalists of New England. viz: that when the Constitution has been violated by one party, the other is released from its obligations and has a right to secede; began to withdraw from the Union. A short digression here will not be misplaced.

tility ripened into determination to set up a sepa rate government; a secession convention assem bled at Hartford in December, 1814, but, before it had consummated its purpose, changes in the condition of affairs led to its then abandonment. Said John Quincy Adams, soon afterward, "the interposition of a kind Providence restoring peace to our country and the world, arrested the most deplorable catastrophe, and, turning to the receptacle of things lost upon earth, the adjourned convention from Hartford to Beston, extinguished (by the mercy of Heaven may it be forever)

the projected New England Confederacy." 2 vol DEAR SIR—A rumor has been current for some this attempt to establish a New England Confeddays, to the effect that you had decided not to eracy, that Mr. Josiah Quincy, one of the ablest take a renomination for Judge of the Supreme and most accomplished men of Massachusetts, the Court. You will allow us to express the hope that this is without your sanction. In the troubled alist, and now a radical, and ardent supporter of condition of our country, we, as humble mem- Mr. Lincoln's Administration, gave an exposibers of the community, feel constrained to urge tion of the constitutional views held by the feder you to submit your name to the Democratic Convention which will meet, in accordance with an-cient usage, on the 8th of January next. Your Soon after Mr. Jefferson became President, Louislong experience on the bench, and your well known devotion to our country, its Constitution and laws, render your services next to indispen-The time draws near when your decision must thus relatively diminish hers; and on the 19th of be made. Will you allow us, therefore, to ask January, 1811, on the bill to provide for the formation of a State Government in a part of the ac quired Louisiana territory, Mr. Quincy asserted that the passage of the bill would be, ipso facto, a dissolution of the Union. Excitement was pro-

duced by this proposition. Mr. Poindexter, a lending Southern statesman from Mississippi, and

a bosom friend of Henry Clay, called Mr. Quincy to order, declaring that "it was radically wrong for any member to use arguments going to dis-GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your note of solve the Government, and trample this body a current rumor that I had determined not to ac- "Mr. Quincy repeated and justified the remark cept a renomination, should it be tendered, for he had made, which, to save all misapprehenthe office I now have the honor to occupy, and sion, he committed to writing in the following to express the hope that the rumor is unfounded. words: "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate Your communication came to me during a opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this session of the Supreme Court, and when I had Union; that it will free the States from their not time to embody, in an immediate answer, all | moral obligation, and, as it will be the right of that I wished to say; hence the delay that has at | all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to ended it prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, In the humbled condition of the judiciary, poviolently if they must." And the House, by three and political consequences of usurping this power. But aside from this, I have been led, not by I have said that it would be a virtual dissolution

SECESSION A HERESY. Upon the refusal, as I have said, of all guaran tees after the election of Mr. Lincoln, the South adopting the secession theory of the Eastern rad icals, and claiming that the North had broken the contract of union by refusing to return fugitive slaves, &c , began to secode. This radical doc trine of secession, from its first advocacy in New England, the Northern Democracy had opposed as a political, a constitutional heresy; but my own attention was first most decidedly called to and my mind finally settled upon the principle that our government was designed to be permanent in form, with certain powers for self-preservation, by the act and declaration of a Southern statesman. When, in 1842, Mr John Q. Adams presented to Congress a petition from Massachu setts radicals for the dissolution of the Union. the Hon. Thomas F. Marshall of Kentucky, or the 5th of February of that year, introduced the following preamble and resolutions, viz:

"WREBEAS, The Federal Constitution is a permanent mentality of which we are now permitted to avail courselves in attempting to accomplish that object, and will be the only instrumentality during the exist strument; and the members of this flouse, deriving their ence of the present Administration. I have always | political character and powers from the same, are swort to support it; and the dissolution of the Union necessarily implies the destruction of that instrument, the overthrough Union has been the fundamental principle, the of the American Republic, and the extinction of our na foundation stone of my politics, all my life In my early boyhood, the first political lesson taught me was to cheaish the Union; my first political framed by their constituents, and to support which they are commanded by those constituents to be sworn before aspirations were for its preservation; the political | they can enter into the execution of the political powers

I hope not, for I feel it and must, yet in humilty, say it, that I to day have the satisfaction, (the loss of which could be compensated by no gold or greenbacks,) of being able to lay my hand through their representatives, in the eyes of the whole

act or sentiment that has contributed to produce to the Government, and for the wound which he has perof the Constitution of the United States was not well be held to merit expulsion from the national counobligatory on me, and should not be obeyed. I cits; and the House deem it an act of grace and mercy have spoken of preserving the Union. I do not mean to be understood that I look for the preservation or restoration of "the Union as it was" of that, I have no expectation. I will explain.

The Union as it was was a compound this. WHAT THE WAR WAS FOR IN THE BEGINNING.

At the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, then, matters stood thus. No guarantees to be given the antees were not given. The right to secole 2 States, a part maintaining African slavery denied. War followed, for what? Simply, we and a part not, possessed of residuary powers of were told, to put down the rebels and assert the authority of the United States over the seceded 3 A united, friendly, and intercommunica- States. At the commencement of the war, the Some of these elements of the old Union will session of the State governments. A majority of position in the Union. Mr. Beecher so asserts in should aid those Union men, by so con Take the example of a church for my idea. It ducting the civil administration and the edge of any friendly acts or measures of our Gorernment to make its way through hostile armies and a hostile Southern Government down to the people under that Government, while that Government would speedily publish among them every act of our Government of a political abolition bearing. THE CIVIL POLICY IN CONNECTION WITH THE WAR

And now we have arrived at the point where another most disastrously fatal step was taken by the Administration, under radicial influence, taken knowingly, designedly, and in breach faith to the conservative men of all parties in the nation; a step which has brought untold saf fering upon this country, and is likely to still add indefinitely to it, and yet may, possibly, be followed by the consequence of the disruption of the territory of the Republic, as well as the over throw of other parts of it, though I hope and pray that it may not. The step to which I allude was that of adopting a policy of administration that mocked the hopes of the Union men of the South, blasted their prospects, and drove them all, be-trayed and humbled, but embittered, into the sup-port of Jeff. Davis; in short, a policy to make rebels, a policy to extend and intensify the re-bellion instead of extinguishing it. And I admit it to be my deliberate opinion that this was done by the Administration under an artful pressure by the radicals, expressly for the purpose of pro-longing the war, so that the Southern people might be mainly exterminated, their States anni-hilated and their domestic institutions over-thrown; which could not have happened if the war had been brought speedily to a close by a conser-vative policy towards the South. The war was all ion here will not be misplaced.

NEW ENGLAND SECESSION.

The New England Federalists and Radicals always like our Union well enough when they can control it; when they cannot do that, they generally plot its overthrow. In 1800, they lost their power, by the election of Jefferson, and from that time they commenced finding fault with the Union and its Constitution. Their hos-

Then followed the non-return, as a general for all to let it alone; but that such should be the rule, of fugitive slaves, to even Union owners, case was, and is, a moral impossibility. The emancipation by duress, moral coercion, the Constitution did not give protection enough to proclamation freeing all the slaves in certain slavery to secure it against the aggression of States, arming the slaves, proclamation of the Northern radicals, but it gave too much to render doctrine that the negroes were citizens, the cut-ting in two of the State of Virginia, &c., all ing its extinction or even its natural extension, measures, out of season, irritating to and inde-fensible by Union citizens in the South, and the ble to those radicals. Hence, a portion of the effect of which has been to thoroughly convert | South was continually irritated by Northern in all the people of that section into rebels, and to termeddling, and numbers of the Northern people implant in their very souls a determination to reject all terms, to suffer everything, poverty, extermination, even death itself, rather than return thousands of examples in proof. I limit myself to the old Union. In short; the unfortunate to a few, premising, however, that I consider policy, to call it by no harsher term, of the Ad | these radicals as controlling the Administration. ministration has brought about this state of things, The National Convention of radicals, which met viz: No mode remains, no instrumentality is at Buffalo in 1843, and nominated candidates for left us, for the restoration of even territorial uni President and Vice President, adopted the folty, but force, war, blood, fire. It has come to lowing as a part of their platform: this; that, under present rule it is Union by war, . "Resolved. That we hereby give it to be unsolution by peace; and, now, what shall derstood by this nation and the world, that as the citizen do? You go to the Administration, Abolitionists, considering that the strength of say I am willing to prosecute this war to our cause lies in its righteonsness, and our hope down rebels, but I demand, at for it in our conformity to the laws of God and same time, that the civil Ad- our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to ministration shall be so conducted as to encour- the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof

ality but war to save the Union; and we shall so or sworn to support it."-I l'ext Book, p 14 tions; we do not intend to take them back, if Chase, this resolution: at all; and if you refuse to give us the means to and patriotism alike demand its abolition." the Union. Now, what are you going to do? W. Beecher is reported as having used this lan-Abandon the war, and dissolve the Union by giving the South independence? or support the war, in order, if possible, to keep it on its base, and ples, which will not harmonize nor agree. future time, by conservative agency, again arise and spring to immortality." It has ever been a slavery." other means, and will give the South independence lived up to in the North. Speaking of the fugirather than receive her back until slavery is de | tive slave law of 1850, he said:

istration is in power, and thus hazard not only the and many a one. [Cheers.]" ment? You support the war without saying so. law to carry out a plain constitutional provision in favor of the South! What is Jeff. Davis do-I support it and say so. ONE FALSE STEP BEGETS ANOTHER. How true it is that one false step begets an-

to administer the Government upon a policy to make as well as to destroy rebels, was very aphalt in its support. It feared it might be displaced by force. It saw, in imagination, assassins behind and gallows before. It determined to maintain itself by any means at hand. Corruption and force were available. It was announced that the Administration was the Government, was the State, and that all means were right, from necessity, to save the life, as the people thought, of the Government, as the President and Cabinet thought, of themselves. The Administration went to work. The Walpolean doctrine that corruption is a legitimate means of securing support ers to administration was acted upon, if reports be true, to an appalling extent. Money, contracts, appointments, beyond anything in the history of Mr. Lincoln, as he looked out from the vessel of state upon the sea of civil life and strife, might

well parody Attilla, the Hunic chief, by singing "Corruption is the ship I steer, And plunder sits upon the helm." Preventive force, also, was resorted to. The military were spread over the loyal and peaceable and patriotic Northern States, where no rebellion existed or could be provoked by the Administration. Provost Marshals occupied the individuals; everybody who did not say he ap proved of the radical policy of the Government, denounced as a rebel and a traitor; arbitrary ar- yet, do not Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and rests were made on suspicion that men did not approve that policy; the habeas corpus was suspended; a horde of spies and a secret police were pended; a horde of spies and a secret police were appointed, acts which are never resorted to except do the radicals, claim to be operative or by uneasy, suspicious and tyrannical governments, and which, says the late British Minister, in his work on Japan, in speaking of the detestable system of espionage in that despotism, cannot be perpetrated except in despotisms. He asserts that such spies, "venal informers," "habitually invent more than they discover;" that "the world's experience has established, as a universal truth the fact, that personal liberty, security and independence cannot exist side by side with a system of created out of her by Congress. How is this, in government which sows distrust between man and man, deprives the subject of a manly sense of self-respect, and builds up its own security on the rotten foundation of a degrading and demoralizing betrayal of the secrets of every family hearth. The entire people are thus brought prostrate at the feet of the President. I admit it; but what are you going to do? Is that a sufficient reason why you should abandon the war and the country to its fate? What relief will that abandonment bring? Will it restore the writ of habeas corpus?

tion is, what will you do, and what will you opinion. I may be wrong. The Administration says it has not disregarded the Constitution, but acted strictly within it. The Administration says it is constitutional to dispense with the Consti-tution. It says the Constitution authorizes the istration to act with pulimited discretion: to do whatever it deems necessary to the general welfare. It says that the Constitution is like the letter of instruction to a foreign Minister which directs him to do so and so if he can; if not, to got at, at the proper time, and in the proper do as he deems best under the circumstances. If and I am afraid a Judiciary will scon be placed in power that will so decide; that, like the old Parliament of Paris, will register the edicts of the

tend to anarchy and civil war. WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION MEANS TO DO WITH

abolished in the District of Columbia. This did to do? I can answer the question, at least, in not good to anybody, heaped expense upon the part. It means, in my opinion, to abolish slavery. Government, and irritated and embarrassed the It does not intend to admit the seceded States Union men of the South. The act was done back, if they lay down their arms and ask to return to-day, unless upon the condition of abolish-Next, the Wilmot proviso, the exclusion of the ing slavery. or recognizing the fact that it is Southern slaveholders with their slaves from the abolished. Of this, it seems to me, there is no

common territories, was passed. Was this done doubt. The whole line of conduct, from Chandto put down the rebellion and increase and ler's blood-letting letter, down through the war strengthen the Union men of the South? Why, to the current refusals of applications to return, this excluded them from a right which the Su- shows this. Mr. Chase said at Indianapolis that preme Court of the United States had solemnly the Government or the Union must be born decided they were entitled to under the Constitue again. Mr. Vice President Hamlin said, lately, tion. What could Union men in the South say in New York, that it was bad nonsense to talk of to the rebels in excuse for this? And when the the Union as it was. The antecedents of the rebels there would point to the act and ask Union Administration confirm this. Let us briefly

men if that was the evidence upon which they prove this statement. relied, of justice and fairness from the Washing-ton Administration, what could they say? To which of the parties did it give the advantage in that is to say, African slavery, and their only

age Union feeling in the South, as to leave open of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil rela-a door for their return; so conducted as to leave tions and offices, whether as private citizens or for the Union men, when they get possession of | public functionaries, sworn to support the Contheir State Governments, all the rights of States | stitution of the United States, to regard and treat and citizens they formerly possessed, under the Federal Constitution. The Administration restrument, whenever applied to the case of a fuplies, your advice is impertinent; we have charge of the Government, and shall manage it to suit our views; and we shall resort to no instrument.

prosecute the war as to make all the South rebels, Again: The same parts, at its National Conso that we may make the war a means to exting | vention at Pittsburg, in 1852, adopted as a part uish, or remodel to our liking, all their institu- of its platform, drawn by the present Secretary they offer to come, till slavery is abolished; and "Resolved, That slavery is a sin against God,

to prosecute it; we will prosecute it thus or not actment can make right, and that Christianity thus prosecute it, we'll make peace by dissolving In 1856, in a speech at New Haven, Rev. H.

"The Constitution is the cause of every division wretched as may be the civil policy of the Gov- which this vexed question of slavery has ever ernment connected with it, and try to save at least, aused in this country. It has been the fountain the territorial Union. I elect to support the war, to | and father of all our troubles, by attempting to cling to the shattered Government of the Union, hold together as reconciled two opposing princiavoid anarchy, till it can be remaired, hoping that only hope of the slave is over the ruins of the by some kind Providence, it may yet, in some Government and of the American Church.

fundamental principle with me never to consent | In a speech of the same gentleman, now the to its dissolution. And what I have said, ex- agent of the Administration, made in Manchester, plains my meaning in saying that I support the England, October 9th, 1863, one month ago towar for the Union, because the Administration, day, he bears this testimony as to the manner in under the control of the radical wing of its party, | which the constitutional provision securing to the as I fear it is, will not allow it to be saved by any | South a return of her fugitive slaves had been

stroyed. It will only allow it to be saved by a "Against the infamy my soul revolted, and mode that shall first bring it, at all events, to the | these lips protested, and I defied to its face the verge, possibly, I admit, plunge it into the vortex | Government, and told them "I will have none of of ruin. And do you object to my support of the of your unrighteous laws; send to me that fugiwar? Do you not support it? Don't you pay tive who is fleeing from his master, and I will your income tax? Do you discourage volunteer. step between him and his pursuer.' [Loud ng? Do you not give for the relief and comfort and prolonged cheers.] Not, once, nor twice, of the sick, the weary, and the way-worn soldier? have my doors shut between oppression and the Do you resist the Provost Marshals? Are you oppressed; and the church itself over which I willing to stop the war, while the present Admin | minister, has been the unknown refuge of many

Union, but the existence of any general govern- He defied the Government when executing a

ing? And why does he say he is doing it? On the 14th of January, 1862, Hon. Geo. W Julian, in a speech in Congress said: "Mr. Chairother. The Administration, having determined man, when I say that this rebellion has its source and life in slavery," &a; "and the germ of our prehensive that Northern conservative men would troubles, it must be confessed, is in the Constitution itself." So said John Q. Adams, and he pronounced the bargain thus made by our fathers

'morally and politically vicious," &c. I might extend this list of quotations by going to the speeches of Giddings, Sumner, and multitudes of others, but I have presented sufficient for

The radicals of the North have opposed the Constitution while they could not abolish slavery; but they will be satisfied with the Constitution it they can be the party to say what it shall mean. and can abolish slavery by means of the war; be cause if there are no slaves to be represented in Congress, and none to be returned as fugitives, the objectionable clauses in the Constitution. the nation, were used; till it seemed to me that having nothing to operate upon, will be harmless. obsolete, indeed, so that those radicals can now change ground and go for the Constitution as it is, when they have destroyed the Union as it was. And if I am right in the assumption that they now have the control of the administration, there can be no doubt but that they will avail themselves of the present opportunity to abolish slavery. Indeed, they claim that it is already done in all the secoded States, by the President's proclamation, and what is left of it in the border towns; the mob element was excited to overawe a rush. Free to escape because the constitutional States, is not, under existing circumstances, worth provision for their return is disregarded; taken by the army, taken by the Government; who, now which tended to create rebels in the South, was would buy negroes? It ho could sell one? And

Delaware cordially sustain the radical policy of a pop-gun at a fixed star. If the proclamation was valid, it was a direct destruction of State rights, and slavery is now abolished, in those States, by the General Government, and they cannot return to the Union as they were; and as to Virginia, she has been cut in two; how can she resume her place in the Union as "old Virginia?" She can not, without ousting the new Virginia a legal point of view, to be settled? Perhaps, on the score of profit, old Virginia ought not to ob ject, as on returning, it would give her four Senators instead of two But the point is this The Administration in accordance with, and thus as committed to, the views of the radicals, has been treating the Southern States, in their State cathe toils in which it has thus involved itself. WILL THE WAR BE SUCCESSFUL?

We shall conquer the South. We can annihi-Will it bring back your free suffrage? The ques- late her. If Deity does not prevent, twenty accomplish by it?

I think the Administration has usurped and exercised powers not granted by the Constitution. I think it has, in reality, changed our government from a constitutional random of difficulty. My anxiety is about how we are after the conquest has been achieved? I say our from a constitutional republic to a government of unlimited, arbitrary power. This is my individual ereise much liberty, and so do the people of Russia, of Japan, of even Poland; but it is enjoved by governmental permission, not by the noble and dignified and dignifying right of freemen; I say this because, according to the theory of the Administration, whenever the executive sees fit to withhold its permission, and imprision the citizen, the citizen has no instrumentality left, which he can enforce the use of, AS A RIGHT, to this really is the meaning of the Constitution, quest of the South, by war. This, I have atgot to fight her to the point of submsssion, le Parliament of Paris, will register the edicts of the Executive, then the Government has not been guilty of usurpation. We must wait for the under the lead of this radical Administration. ettlement of this question. If the Judiciary de- This is galling to my Democratic friend. Well. cides with the Government, then, we must take that to be right till the decision is, by some requirement, and Booth, and Dred Scott I would aid them in keeping her affort, and rancases, say we will not obey them; for this would

ning her into harbor. Well, the job first on hand, then, disguise it as we may, is to subjugate the South; this is the point of progress we have reached; and this is one of those jobs which, according to the old WHOLE NO. 1,270

adage, is well done if it be done quickly. It is mercy to the South that it be done quickly. The more dispatch the executioner uses, the less the sufferings of the victim.

And as to ourselves, the current cost of vigorous, efficient war, is no greater than that of the ill-conducted operations we have had. And this is a question of infinite moment. Our resources may be exhausted sometime; and even should that not happen, a terrible debt is growing, one of the best present, but worst future features of which is, that it is absorbing into United States securities a great portion of the accumulated and accumulating personal wealth of the country, the capital, as it is called, which, when so absorbed, is withdrawn from taxation for State, county and city purposes, whereby the whole burden of State taxation will be thrown upon land and labor. Let the farmers and laborers beware, and hasten the termination of the war, if they would escape eternal servitude to a moneyed aristocracy like that which, reclining upon the shoulders of the people of England, upholds the British crown. But I will not extend this letter The views that I express to-day accord with those I uttered when the war broke out. I then said: "Suppose the Administration should wantonly involve us in a war with Great Britain. What then? Why, of necessity, it would be our duty to fight to defend our country, otherwise Great Britain, having been unjustiv provoked into war, might overcome us. So now, I added, "the whole country must, with alacrity, obey the laws and calls of the Government," "and aid the war," &c. Fugitive Pieces, p. 47. Again: on the 4th of July last, in a speech at Anderson, I said:

More than a million of gallant soldiers, without dis-tinction of party, for upwards of two years, have endured the hardships of war, in winter and in summer, in wet the hardships of war, in winter and in summer, in wet and in cold, on the march, in the camp, the hospital, and on the bloody field. Cheerfully have they marched forward, ready to sacrifice home and case and health and life, in the great undertaking of conquering the rebellion, and giving peace to our once happy Union. They have, by their heroic deeds, honored themselves, their States, the nation; and multitudes of them have vindicated their patriotism by giving up their lives. Gaily they marched forth to the region of conflict to return no more. Honor to their names. Often let us pause and bestow more to their names. Often let us pause and bestow upon their memories the tribute of a silent tear of sorrow. They properly acted in obedience to the call of their Governproperly acted in obedience to the call of their flovern-ment without inquiring into the jediciousness of that call, or the wisdom of the particular policy which they were required to carry out. May that policy, even though the worst the Government could have adopted, still be suc-cessful in restoring unity, peace, prosperity and happi-ness to our suffering, bleeding country. The Union must not be dissolved, it must be perpetuated. It would seem that we now have men enough in the field to annibiliate the South. I think we have. It cannot be possible that the South can much longer resist our legions.—I Printed the South can much longer resist our legions .- Printed

1, then, am for a speedy conquest of the South, so that war and strife may cease, and peaceful scenes again abound throughout our land, and we be able, when corruption and demoralization shall have become a surfeit, fanaticism have spent its spite, and passion shall have burned itself out. turn their attention to the question of reclaiming their lost liberties, and re-establishing the plain, economical republican government which

Having thus frankly expressed my views upon the momentous questions of the day, it is not for me to say that I shall be the candidate of any party; nor will I now say that I may not be. Not being sufficiently needy to render office absolutely necessary to subsistence, nor so afflicted with ambition as to desire it for its honor and power, I shall not seek it. Nor yet am I so indifferent to the welfare of my country, as to lead me to refuse to serve it, even officially, if my services might be useful. I shall leave this question for

Permit me to express my sensibility for the favorable, but too poorly merited opinion you are pleased to express of my past services. I trust I may say that I have endeavored to discharge my duty; and I will assure you that in the future, whether in private life or in official station, whatever of energy and ability I may possess, will be steadily devoted to the high and sacred purpose of maintaining the Union and the Constitution; upholding the rights and honor of the State, and guarding the individual and general liberties of the people. With great respect.

Your obedient servant, To Messrs. J. E. McDonald, James S. Athon, W. H. Talbott, Jas. B. Ryan and J. Ristine.

> From the Moble Register. Speech of Jeff. Davis at Mobile.

. . After the parade was dismissed. Royal street was filled, the brigades returning to their respective quarters, and about the Battle House, the balcony and corridors of which were thronged with ladies, a dense mas packed, impeding the march of the troops. Loud and repeated cheers and calls for the President were made, in response to which he made his appearance on the balcony, and addressed the soldiers

and citizens in an off hand speech. He congratulated the people upon the fact-which he assured them he felt to be the factthat our cause is now in a better condition than it was a year ago. Having just come from the scene of the great battle of Chickamauga, it was impossible that he should not refer to that, and though it could not be expected that he should allude to contemplated movements, yet he was happy to say that the brave victors of that bloody field stood ready and anxious to strike the blow which should secure the complete fruits of their glorious victory. He could say more-that be believed they would strike that blow, and that Rosecrans' unwieldy legions would be destroyed or driven for refuge to the Ohio. The same spirit animated our atmies elsewhere, and all they needed was to be properly seconded by the people at home to send the hordes of Yankees back to their beloved Boston, or any other place from which the return

might be more difficult He saw before him a Texas regiment whose thinned ranks reminded him too painfully of their situation, cut off from the homes to which they should look for recruits, and of their deadly conflicts upon many a field where they had fought as Texans always fight. He exhorted them to be of good cheer. Such deeds as theirs were never in vain, and would surely secure to the country the estimable prize for which they were contending, and to themselves undivided honor

and renown. The citizen soldiery, also, he believed, were emulous of the reputation of their brethren in camp. He had been much moved, as he rode along the lines, at seeing among them young boys, some very young, and men whose heads were silvered with the frosts of many winters. He could remind all these, regulars and others, that they are not common soldiers. They present a spectacle which the world has never witnessed-the best population of the country pour ed into the army. Such men may be appealed to discipline. The times, the cause, all considera itons, require efforts which may be demanded of an army of heroes, for such they are.

There, too, were Alabamians, who, he felt sure. were worthy the name which had been immortal ized on so many battlefields in Virginia, Tennessee, and Mississippi. And here he referred to the youthful color-bearer at Chickamauga, who planted within the enemy's barricades his regimental flag, pierced with eighty-nine bullets, and its staff shattered. The President had the pleasure of promoting him for his gallant conduct, and, such was his modesty, that in presenting his flag to the President, he appeared quite uncon-scious of having performed anything extraordin-

Besides these, there are some too old to bear arms; but, they, too, can do something. Let them contribute their means to the support and relief of those who are contributing their blood, and let those who are too poor for this contribute their nfluence. There is something that all can do. Self must be entirely for otten; and let those who are deaf to any other appeal, remember that be who is hoarding up wealth in such a time as this is boarding up infamy, the mark of which he and his posterity must bear who shall have grown rich by this war.

President Lincoln has adopted a "policy which we can cordially indorse, as an exemplif cation of Emerson's theory of compensation. He has sent Beast Butler back to his old Seld of Big Sethel, the scene of his only encounter w masculine rebels during the war, and where he won as much glory as over the rebels in erin

JEALOUSY -A jealous woman in Washington cowhided her husband for dancing with another lady, and cheerfully paid the damages in the Police Court for the operation.

The arrivals of cotton in Memphis average 250 bales per day, of which nearly one half comes across the river from Arkansas.